

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

We Must Revive the

Passion for Total Peace

says **PERCY REDFERN**

IF war were a game, or if one could stand apart in a world split by hate and hurtling to misery, how entertaining the present spectacle might be!

Here are destroyed ships sailing merrily home; and prisoners of yesterday released to be the allies of today; the criminal aggressors of 1940 become the heroes of 1941-2.

Here we find battles decisively won by both sides; naval squadrons equally defeating each other; contending armies each shooting down the other's planes in ratios of ten to one.

The independence of small nations is preserved here by violation; while there the independence of a vast nation is terribly threatened from much smaller territories thousands of miles distant.

No doubt we are less harrowed by war if we can regard it from behind the shield of irony. But the pacifist is rarely so protected. The tragedy hurts him; for he sees the conflict as other people probably will years hence.

He can guess how much we shall have to pay for propagandist distortions and suppressions, for Pharisaical hatred, and for callousness about destruction. These invaders of the mind are the real fifth columnists. And he tells himself not to fear them that invade a land, but them that in the hell of war destroy both body and soul.

Before his eyes the body of his own country is wasting. Preventive foods and warm clothing diminish; new houses and furniture are not to be had; books grow scarce; new schools are not built; new cities are a far-off dream.

The means of life swirl away on the flood of destruction. What is left is but the mud of debt. Britain has changed already from a creditor to a debtor nation; and it does not seem possible for any future revolution to do more than equalize want.

Passion in Control

When Europe was arming for the last war, Tolstoy continually challenged the nations to stop and think. But passion is in control of peace and war; and until passion is exhausted, men do not stop. "We are fighting for survival." That is the last word.

You may object that many nations which lost great wars are yet far from dead.

France lost Canada and India, and Napoleon and his conquests, and Paris in 1870. Britain lost half of North America, and Spain another half continent in the south. Russia lost to Japan and lost to Germany, yet is now the shining light. Turkey lost all her empire; but her survival has not been in any doubt. Ancient Greece lost everything to Rome, and then proceeded to rule the European world.

You could point to these historic facts and suggest that, whether in victory or defeat, to survive the drain of a long and costly war is the real difficulty. But one might as well address a man gambling for all or nothing.

Reason is notoriously helpless, both in love and war. What is wanted is a different passion.

Passion for Peace

And there is, and always has been, a pacific passion. Neither Greek nor Jew, neither Barbarian nor Scythian, but all men united under one emperor (and him crucified), with one law of love in one brotherly world union.

Twice in his letters, in words of this meaning, did the most powerful

of all Christian writers pour out this pacific faith. Wholeheartedly he gave himself for a new mankind, thus turned from death to life.

While St. Paul wrote, his countrymen plotted war, and not long afterwards they made war, with a rage for national survival and freedom unequalled in history. And, more completely than the pacifist today, the man of the then coming Europe stood outside that national effort, caring only for his transforming faith. Of the two ways, his, we can see, was the right way.

Forgotten by archbishops who could never be mistaken for apostles, and

deserted by socialists, the passion for peace seems almost to have died. it must—and will—live afresh; but how embodied?

First of all, in a faith. The pacifist is, or must be, passionate for the unity of mankind. A thousand aspects deny even the possibility. But faith goes deeper.

History, and human responses, and the very word *mankind* confirm belief. Nations and races can be at one; and loathing for all that spawns antagonism, and hunger for every constructive union, can be just bases for a settled faith.

Peace Will Come!

Spiritual itself, this faith uses the material world. Socialists are neglecting their own conceptions. Passion on their side is fixing whole nations in the old-fashioned categories of "good" and "bad."

It is the pacifist who sees all peoples as the victims of contrary circumstances, geographic, historic, and especially economic. It is the pacifist who feels the real need, which is to strengthen human spiritual power, until the peoples can overtop circumstance, and so share national advantages and possessions as to be brought together for total peace.

This, today, is but the emotional vision of a few oddities. But be of good cheer! Here is the faith of the world not yet dawning but certain to come.

Compromise Fails to Satisfy India

THE possibility of an Indian settlement appears to depend upon "the transfer of defence to Indian hands under a reconstructed, Indianized central Government" (Times, Apr. 6). This does not mean that Congress is prepared to accept the British constitutional proposals as they stand; but it is prepared to treat them as a basis for negotiation, if its demands concerning defence are met. Without this concession it refuses to believe that Britain means business at all. Their argument obviously is that the reality of political power in India lies in control of the military forces in India. And that is true enough.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to gather what the Congress leaders actually understand by taking control of defence. Even Australia, at the present moment, can hardly be said to have complete control of its defence. No doubt an arrangement superficially resembling that which now obtains in Australia would more than satisfy the demand of Congress. Mr. Gandhi is, very credibly, reported to be "not too happy at the apparent supersession of his non-violent ideals which is inherent in a situation that might lead to the Congress Party sharing office in an interim war Government."

"Fierce Determination"

PANDIT NEHRU declared to the correspondent of the Daily Mail (Apr. 6) that "an Indian Defence Minister could raise a huge militia that would fight for every yard of Indian earth with the same fierce determination as the Russian peasants are doing." Frankly, this seems mere wishful thinking. More than twenty years of mass-education and mass-discipline are the foundation of the stubborn Russian defence, for one thing; for another, the only doctrine which has met with any considerable response from the Indian masses is Gandhi's doctrine of non-violent resistance. And it is doubt-

ful whether even that has penetrated to more than a relatively small proportion of the peasants. While we need not suppose that the Indians would act as the Burmese have acted and positively welcome the Japanese invader (M. Guardian, Apr. 4), there is no solid reason to suppose that their attitude would be other than apathy or acquiescence.

Compromise Possible?

PANDIT NEHRU speaks of an army of a few thousand Indians which the Japanese have collected together. He says:

The danger of this army is not its military strength. It is that, unless Indians have independence and the power to defend themselves, they may really believe that it is an army of liberation. (Mail, Apr. 6.)

To whom is he referring? To the Indian peasant masses or the Indian intellectuals? Pandit Nehru himself probably does not know. He thinks in romantic revolutionary terms. He dreams of the levee en masse. But that is only conceivable after a revolution, not before it. And even his dream of revolution is a queer confusion of bourgeois and proletarian revolution. According to him the magic word "independence" will animate the teeming millions of India with revolutionary defensive ardour. The sober truth, I suspect, is that to three-quarters of them at least "independence" means nothing at all. It has no meaning in their experience, or for their imagination.

The only way out of the deadlock appears to be some superficial compromise whereby the pride of the Indian intellectuals is salved but defence remains where it is at present, entirely in British hands.

(Since the above was written such a compromise has been offered. Congress has refused it unanimously (Apr. 8). The deadlock remains.)

PRESSURE ON FREEDOM

THE pressure on independence of action and independence of thought is now perceptibly increasing day by day. The margin of freedom for pacifist action steadily diminishes.

We must not waste our energies in lamenting that; it is inherent in the war-situation, and it was foreseen years ago. More resolutely than ever we must match the situation with our prescience, and build now for the future.

If freedom of conscience is to remain a reality, it must depend upon freedom of expression. And perhaps the time is coming when even the idea of freedom of expression will need all our faith and energy to keep it alive.

The mental fight needs the sinews of war. Give generously to the Fighting Fund.

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The Editor

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A Pacifist COMMENTARY Edited by OBSERVER

Post-War World

SIGNS multiply, says the Manchester Guardian (Mar. 31), that the Government may soon be pressed hard to tell the country what sort of a post-war world it considers we are fighting for. There is really no need to press the Government. I can speak on its behalf. It is a world of peace and justice and retribution and vengeance. It is a world which combines the blessings of capitalism with the blessings of socialism. It is a world in which all the nations will be disarmed except those which have to keep order; in which all the nations will be free except those which have to be kept in order. It is a world in which everybody will have free access to everything if he can pay for it. It is a world in which "Rule Britannia" will become the national anthem of Germany, and the USSR will establish Anglicanism as the State-religion of Russia. It is a world in which I find it very difficult to believe.

Peace Offer

DR. WHALE, speaking as the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, said:—

We know what we are fighting against, but it is notorious that we do not know with clearness and with crusading ardour what we are fighting for. We have not made up our minds with sufficient clearness about the kind of society we want after the war and the price we are willing to pay for it. (M. Guardian, Apr. 1.)

Pacifists have nothing but welcome for any sincere effort to clarify the national thinking. But it must be really honest. It must grasp the hard fact of the situation: that the pre-war world was one which was driving inevitably to war. If the intention is radically to change that world, and to pay the price of

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Resurrection 1942

EASTER is past—the great age-old festival of the rebirth of life after the death of winter, given a new depth and dimension of significance by the commemoration of the death and resurrection of a Man. Like the crocuses and the autumn wheat, He is risen.

But he might as well have stayed where he was. The autumn wheat, now—that is on national service. But if he happened to come up in the middle of a field, that would be highly embarrassing.

Some people—including the Archbishops and the Bishops—say it wouldn't be embarrassing at all. On the contrary, without even waiting to furnish himself with an identity card, he would hurry off to work with a Commando or a bombing-plane. There would be a photograph of him in *The Times*, shaking hands with Mr. Churchill. And then—perhaps he would have to be resurrected all over again. Another photograph in *The Times*; another handshake with Mr. Churchill. He wouldn't give any trouble at all.

But what if he came up in Germany? There seems to be no reason why he should prefer England. A photograph of him giving the Nazi salute to Herr Hitler?

So it is very fortunate for everybody that he got his resurrection over a long while ago. The crocuses and the autumn wheat can go on with it, but not he. The annual resurrection of incarnate Love would drive us all crazy; or, since we are all crazy, drive us sane. What could be more fearful than that?

Our Easter is not the feast of resurrected Love: it is the festival of resurrected War. The snow begins to melt on the Eastern plains, and straightway into new life and action will rise the tender tanks, dancing into the gay "spring offensive," as the women used to do into the gay "spring fashions."

True, men don't really feel quite so *allegro* as that about it. And on the whole they would prefer that the spring offensive did its dancing towards the East rather than the West. Sometimes, they even dare to think it might be a good thing if the war were over any old how. But then it might not be. "Long-term unemployment," says the Archbishop designate of Canterbury, "seems to be incurable under our present system except by the drastic remedy of war."

If that is so, perhaps the Archbishop ought not to be so severe with Herr Hitler for applying the remedy. It hardly seems to merit "retribution," except on the ground that he ought to have changed the system instead. But why should Germany change the system, if we did not? And is the Archbishop quite positive that he wants the system changed? The Archbishopric of Canterbury is a pretty substantial part of it.

Easter should be the season of subversive thoughts—thoughts that push their way up, like the seedlings, through the earth. The pity of it is that the earth of men's minds does not become friable and tender by the winter frosts, but hard and unkind. The seed cannot lodge in it.

There is an Easter for the earth, but not for mankind.

Probably men would be behaving more like men if they had remained pagans.

Said Ruskin: "There are masked words droning and skulking about us in Europe now, which nobody understands but which everybody uses, and most people will also fight for, live for, or even die for, fancying they mean this or that, or the other of things dear to them." And the chief of them is "victory."

changing it, into a world whose structure makes for peace, we can collaborate. But the price of so changing it must be made plain to every man. That will create the will to peace, not (as the cynic might say) in order to avoid the change, but to prepare for it. Any coherent plan of a peaceful world is in fact a peace-offer to the whole world.

The Soldier's Paper

ONE significant fact emerged during the Commons debate on the freedom of the press: that the *Daily Mirror* is the paper most widely read in the British Army. That supplies the reason for the Government threatening to suppress it because of its violent—and to be honest, rather scurrilous—criticism of the higher officers; but it also indicates that such attacks are popular with the average soldier.

As Mr. Vernon Bartlett put it in a letter to *The Times* (Mar. 31): "If the paper did not voice the grievances of thousands of men and women in the Forces, not even Jane and Belinda would be able to keep up its circulation." That surely was the fact which should have disturbed the Government. Probably it does.

Q.E.D.

THERE were many interesting features in that debate. One of the most curious was the attack on

Mr. Wilfrid Roberts, who opened the debate, by Mr. A. G. Walkden, ex-Chairman of the TUC. Mr. Roberts is a Liberal. "I am amazed at the Liberals coming forward in this way," said Mr. Walkden.

I would have thought it the natural thing for a Liberal to do, if the word means anything. But Mr. Walkden justified his own amazement by referring to the dismissal of the late H. W. Massingham from the editorship of the *Daily Chronicle* because he refused to support the Boer War. A most dangerous example to quote, I should have thought. Not so Mr. Walkden. The proprietors of the *Daily Chronicle* were Liberals; Mr. Roberts is a Liberal. Therefore Mr. Roberts has no right to protest against a restriction of the freedom of the press.

Travesty of Argument

THIS travesty of an argument was particularly shocking to me: for I knew H. W. Massingham well, and worked with and for him during the last war for a "peace of understanding." And I can assure Mr. Walkden that he would turn in his grave at his memory and example being used against the freedom of the press: and above all he would have been outraged at the idea that, because the proprietors who treated him scurvily

Labour's Failure by WILFRED WELLOCK

THE much-publicized report of the Labour Party "on the problems of war and peace reconstruction," entitled "The Old World and The New Society," is not merely disappointing; it is unrealistic to the last degree, and raises the vital question as to whether the Labour Party is in a position to take any effective part in the making of a new world.

To have issued so nebulous a report at the very moment when the need is for stark realism and immediate action is almost beyond belief. The document sends one right up into the clouds and leaves one there: from start to finish one's feet never touch solid ground.

There are times when castles in the air are the only castles possible, but today we are confronted with a broken, collapsing world, and are in desperate need of a plan of reconstruction to be applied here and now. No such plan is provided in this Report. To the question: Where do we go from here? there is no answer. Worse still, no serious attempt is made to discover the significance of current world changes, the conditions and limitations which the war is imposing upon the builders of the post-war world.

The report is a little more than a rehash of Labour Party programmes over the last twenty years. It is another collection of "musts," without the least enlightenment as to how the "musts" are to be translated into realities. For instance, after achieving "total victory over our enemies" . . . there must be no return to the unplanned competitive world of the inter-war years. . . .

The basis of our Democracy must be planned production for community use. . . . We must organize now to provide full employment to rebuild a better Britain. . . . The main war-time controls in industry and agriculture should be maintained. . . . Plans should be prepared now for the rapid transfer of labour and materials to peace-time requirements. . . . The workers must be given opportunity to develop their capacities. . . . We must endeavour to promote a higher international standard of living. . . . The Labour Party is opposed to the colour-bar in every shape and form. . . . Mineral resources (colonial) should be operated as Government concerns in trusteeship for the native community. . . .

Aggressor nations must be disarmed and kept disarmed. . . . The principle of collective security against aggression must be given its appropriate methods and institutions. . . .

All this we have heard before. What the public want to know is when and by what means these things are to happen. We are not told, although we are informed that operations ought to be begun now, and that it will be too late to postpone them to the end of the war.

THIS issue is of paramount importance. This "Socialist Britain" is up against Churchill's "traditional Britain," and the ques-

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY (Continued from page one)

on the old *Chronicle* were Liberals. no Liberal was entitled to defend the freedom of the press. Is Mr. Walkden under the impression that H.W.M. was a Labour man? He was a Liberal himself—and one of the bravest of the breed.

Russia: Two Views

THE conflict of opinion on the military achievement of Russia during the winter is very remarkable. The *Times* correspondent in Moscow (Mar. 30) declares that they have been an unbroken sequence of successes, and that the initiative which the Russians so firmly hold "gives lively possibilities for an advance once conditions permit." On the other hand, Capt. Liddell-Hart (Mail, Mar. 30) thinks it "reasonable to surmise" that the Russians have lost more heavily than the Germans; and thinks that, because of their failure to capture the German bastions, the advance made by the Russians between them "carry a risk of being turned to their disadvantage when the spring campaign opens." It might, therefore, be wiser for the Russians to "draw in their horns" betimes.

The only explanation of such great discrepancies that occurs to me is that nobody really knows anything about the military situation in Russia at all. From time to time complaints appear about the niggardliness of the information allowed to escape from Russia.

Facts Obscured

THE seeker after the facts is indeed sadly baffled today. I read that Japanese aircraft production is inadequate. "For aircraft and munitions the Japanese command must depend on resources amassed before the war, since the productive power of the country cannot keep up with the demand" (Telegraph, Ap. 1). But Mr. Emil Speyer (M. Guardian, Mar. 30) asserts that this is an unfounded assumption. He estimates that Japan was probably able to produce 34,000 aeroplane engines and 12-16,000 aeroplanes annually in 1941.

"The main mistake made in assessing Japan's industrial power seems to be that we still think of Japan as a nation producing chiefly textiles; whereas in fact the heavy industries had taken first place as early as 1933. (38.9 per cent. of total industrial production as against 37 per cent. for textiles). In 1938 the proportion was 55.7 per cent. against 24.8 per cent."

Again, rubber is now a vital munition of war: the Japanese have the lion's share of it. Tin is a vital munition in a world that lives on tins. Japanese control of Far Eastern supplies has reduced world tin supplies to 78,000 tons a year against a war-time need of 175,000 tons. (Telegraph, Mar. 30).

"Times" Change

THE education of *The Times* proceeds apace. Only a week elapsed between its acceptance of the fact that the social function of money is the same as that of railway-tickets, and its discovery that big business is not patriotic.

"It is disconcerting to find that American inventions of great value for war purposes have been made freely available to the enemy while permission to use them has been denied to American manufacturers; and that when American participation in the war seemed inevitable, a great American organization was negotiating with enemy concerns to 'work out complete plans for a modus vivendi which would operate through the term of the war, whether or not the United States came in.'" (Times, Ap. 1).

Of course, this is American big business. But when the education of *The Times* has progressed a little further, it will realize that the morality of big business is the same everywhere, until it is put in irons. In England we have committed the social crime for it is no less—of putting the chief industrial controls into the hands of big business: see the formidable list in *The Economist* (Mar. 28). And who, having read them, can forget the revelations of Jean de Pierrefeu concerning the treatment of the iron works in Longwy-Briey during the last war?

Democracy Marches?

THE Southern Review has been published by the Louisiana State University since 1935. In those seven years it gained a very high reputation as a literary review. But it loses 10,000 dollars a year: and the University has decided to close it down. But the University continues to pay 61,000 dollars for the football team, including 6,892 dollars a year for a specially constructed, steam-heated home for the mascot of the football team—a tiger named Mike. So who need fear for the future of democracy?

Neither the Peace Pledge Union nor Peace News itself is necessarily committed to views expressed in the articles we publish. (Still less does the acceptance of advertisements imply endorsement of any views expressed or implied therein or PPU connection with the matter advertised). Contributions are welcomed, though no payment is made. They should be typewritten, if possible, and one side only of the paper should be used. They should be kept as short as possible—preferably not more than 600 words. If replies are required, stamped addressed envelopes must be enclosed.

(Continued on page 4)

THE basis of the Peace Pledge Union is the following pledge which is signed by each member:

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER.

The address to which new signatures of the pledge should be sent, and from which further particulars may be obtained is:

PPU HEADQUARTERS,
Dick Sheppard House,
6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

For Duration?

By JOHN BARCLAY

DURING war-time the field of vision for most people is limited. It is as much as they can do to concentrate on their work and trust that when the end of the war comes it will find them prepared to work equally hard for a durable peace. Pacifists—especially those who have been compelled to take up farm work—may easily find themselves living for the day when they can get back to work for which they are more fitted. It is not everyone who can bear to contemplate the possibility of a "life sentence" on the land, supposing that a return to a more congenial occupation is not possible; yet we must bear this in mind when we plan for the future.

An immediate return to normality is surely out of the question, and a series of campaigns of short-term duration will not fit us for abnormal times. We have to build foundations during war-time which will have relevance in a post-war world; so built as to withstand the strains of war and flexible enough to survive the rapid changes following hostilities. We must prepare to face undismayed conditions far less pleasant than those obtaining to-day with a faith that does not depend on a "close-up" of the goal.

WEEKEND SCHOOLS

Area and regional committees should soon be supplying the machinery for the calling of weekend and day schools all over the country at which long and short-term policies can be discussed and from which will spring resolution to face whatever the future may have in store for us. It is comparatively easy to hold a pacifist conviction in a country as tolerant as Britain, but the test will come if conditions become intolerable and if the hopes of a return to sanity fade.

Waiting for a better day to come may only ensure a longer period of darkness. If we have the courage now to face the very worst that may happen and still go forward cheerfully planning a better future, only then does present development have relevance. Our horizon is not bounded by the end of the war, but extends to the furthest limits of our vision.

ACTIVITIES

Aberdare.—On Saturday, April 18, a meeting of pacifists in the Rhondda, Merthyr, Aberdare, Neath, Mountain Ash, Pontypridd, Caerphilly area will be held at Seion Vestry, Aberdare. George L. Davies will be speaking, and everyone who can go is invited to attend. For further particulars apply to Glyndwr Griffiths, 4 Harriet St., Treycnor, Aberdare.

WAR AND THE CHILD

Figures compiled by Dr. Nora Wattie Senior Child Welfare Medical Officer for Glasgow, show that the infant mortality per 1,000 births during the first six months of the year increased as follows: 1939, 82.7; 1940, 109.2; 1941, 131.5.

Dr. Wattie says: "Such an increase does suggest that war conditions may be affecting adversely both the health of the mother and the standard of our maternity service."

It is a painful and terrible thing to think how easy it is to stir up a nation to war. Take any decent history of this country, from the time of William III until now—for two centuries, or nearly so—and you will find that wars are always supported by a class of arguments which, after the war is over, the people find were arguments they should not have listened to.—John Bright, in 1878.

PEACE BY NEGOTIATION

A SUMMING-UP BY
THE CHAIRMAN OF
THE PPU, Dr. ALEX
WOOD.

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Britain In Europe

JOHN HIGHER writes: "Germany is destroying the anarchy of British political supremacy in Europe." This view has often been stated in your columns, but surely the main cause of European anarchy is the force of nationalism. To suggest that Britain has forced the nations of Europe to remain apart when they wished to unite is quite untrue. Britain did not cause the Austrian and the Turkish Empires to break up. That was done by the subject peoples themselves. When have Czechs, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgars, Greeks, Jugoslavs and the rest shown any desire to form a larger union? How did Britain stand in their way?

I cannot see when, since the Crimean War, Britain has exercised this supremacy in Europe. What little political influence she exercised before 1870 was usually on behalf of the Italians and Germans, who were struggling towards unity. Since 1870, Germany and France have had greater influence in Europe than Britain. Does Mr. Higher think that these States had any desire to see powerful new unions of the peoples of Europe? It was to the advantage of all the "great Powers" to maintain a state of anarchy in Europe.

Hitler would end anarchy, it is true, but only to replace it by a worse system—imperialist domination. Anyone in doubt on this should refer to "Mein Kampf"; then it would be clear that the New Order holds no hope as a solution of the problem of European anarchy.

L. T. WEAVER

The Knapp, Dursley.

Defence of the West

It was with some misgiving that I read your editorial in Peace News of Mar. 27. The argument seemed to be that the British should end the war in Europe the better to carry on the war against Japan. There seemed to be a suggestion that civilization required war for its defence, at any rate when threatened by the Japanese.

To my mind it is just this argument that because we have a Christian civilization we are entitled to make war in its defence or extension that has prevented us ever realizing a Christian civilization. You used the term "Western civilization" which normally

TO CORRESPONDENTS

Owing to the large number of claims on our severely limited space, correspondents are urged to keep their letters very brief, and preferably under 250 words.

Registration of Youth

PERHAPS you will allow me to answer Mr. Oldacre's letter. It revealed, I think, an undue aggressiveness (typical, I am afraid, of a large number of pacifists) the inevitable corollary of which is a warped outlook. Above all, we must strive to preserve a clear, unbiassed vision in this world of propaganda and fanaticism.

Mr. Oldacre has, indeed, a very much distorted conception of the "Registration of Youth." I myself registered with the seventeen-year-olds, and was subsequently interviewed; my experience quite contradicts your correspondent's opinion (based on what evidence, I wonder?) that the registration was, as he puts it, "nothing but a means to secure the young people solely for the war machine." I will not deny that such a motive does play a part in the scheme, but it is incorrect to assert that it is the sole, or even the main, motive. It was not even suggested to me that I should join a military organization. The stress was laid entirely on seeing that my leisure time was usefully occupied.

As for the element of compulsion, apart from the actual registration, it was non-existent. The leaflet issued to us at the time said merely that it was "our duty" to go to the interview. Personally, I had all along no intention of allowing others to decide what was good for me, or of joining any organization whatever; nor was I urged to do so.

I too am a pacifist, and an absolute pacifist; but I am not an anarchist. I am a member of a democratic society, from which I receive many benefits, and I admit its right to use compulsion, provided, of course, that it does not conflict with my conscience. A mere registration does not. To assert that compulsion is to be rejected "at whatever age" implies the abandonment of education; and a policy of "fais ce que tu voudras" would lead ultimately to the abandonment of society and civilization. I, for one, have no wish to relapse to the level of a moujik.

G. B. JACKSON

The Manse, Acle, Norwich.

RECONSTRUCTION— OR RETRIBUTION?

THE German New Order in Europe is something more than the sham it is commonly supposed to be. Conclusions reached by experts at the recent British Association conference on Scientific Problems in Post-War Reconstruction of European Agriculture suggest that there is a good deal to be learned from it.

These experts want to reorganize and rationalize European agriculture on a world basis for peace.

Most of them have been trying to get this done for years, but they have made little headway against the age-long obstacles of reactionary landlordism, tariff barriers, *parcellement*, peasant ignorance and poverty.

Now Hitler has swept away this old order. He has forestalled the experts by reorganizing and rationalizing European agriculture himself—albeit on a continental basis and for war.

Under the old order, European agriculture except in very progressive countries such as Denmark brought neither prosperity to the farmers nor sufficient food to the community. During the present war, to quote from a paper read to the conference by Miss Margaret Digby, of the Ministry of Economic Warfare:

... a certain coherence has undoubtedly been imposed on European agricultural economy by the dominant demands of Ger-

many. There has been an attempt, probably to some extent successful, to fit production to a thought-out plan of consumption...

The fact is that Germany's physical and economical position in Europe makes her the natural centre for reconstruction and reorganization.

She is an integral part of Europe, and Europe can no more live without Germany than Germany can live without Europe. No plan for Europe can succeed that omits Germany, and it is doubtful whether one would succeed that did not allow for some form of German leadership in the technical sphere.

Much is said about the Germans' pretensions to be an industrial *Herrenvolk* while other Europeans are reduced to the status of peasant serfs. The fact, again, is that farming is the natural and desirable occupation for most Europeans, and for their farming to prosper, they need both the German market and German industrial products. To quote again from Miss Digby's lecture:

Though the economic hegemony of Germany was neither politically nor economically desirable, the destitution of the German industrial population and the failure of its consuming power would have very serious effects on the agricultural exporting countries of Europe unless, as seems unlikely, they could immediately find alternative markets or increase their domestic market by enlarged industrial employment. As soon as the immediate post-war shortage has passed it may be both economically and politically wise to win our enemies with a plenty they have not known for years while securing markets for our agricultural friends.

That is the plain, simple truth. Will our political and religious leaders heed it? Or will they continue to advocate retribution as a primary war aim and devastate a whole continent to punish a nation?

MAURICE CRANSTON

Pipe Dream

IN spite of Mr. Morrison, I hope PN will keep on attempting to tell the truth to that negligible minority who buy it.

I am not a great hand at writing, but inspired by the outlook of the paper, I have had a pipe dream of the world as I should like it. The basis of my argument is the historical progression of society from small to large aggregations, made necessary by the development of weapons. My dream is a world of three units, all practically self-sufficient, materially, and kept at their distance by geographical factors. They are:

1. The American Continent.
2. Europe, Africa and parts of Asia, i.e. Turkey, Syria, Irak, Iran, Arabia, part of Siberia and Turkestan.
3. The rest of Asia, Indonesia, Australasia.

Between 2 and 3 a neutral zone running through relatively barren or mountainous country, possibly the river Lena, the central desert, Afghanistan.

As you see, each unit would include all climates and, with that, all natural products and a fair division of mineral wealth.

Just as every successful cook has a foundation cake mixture, here is what I have gathered from various readings, as the foundations of the successful society.

1. Liberty of thought—from the Greeks.
2. Spiritual insight—from the East.
3. Law and Organization—from the Romans.
4. Scientific approach—from Western "Civilization."
5. Social Justice—from Socialist thought.

As a matter of fact, this is cribbed in its final form from a book "Russia Today" by Sherwood Eddy, but it did not come as a new idea to me, having been in contact with pacifist thought so long now.

I often speculate on what my outlook would have been, but for a series of seemingly accidental contacts.

About 1920 I was very interested in chess problems. Through this I contacted the old Daily Herald and entered what might be called the Left wing world.

In Sept. 1938, I was asked by my mother to meet some friends at Dollarbeg—near where we were living—at some sort of peace society conference. There I heard Max Plowman, who opened the door of pacifism.

The same year we had living with us my brother-in-law, an ex-policeman from Cairo, with his Italian wife and family. I learnt from this about the impact of Fascism on the common people. My sister-in-law was from a peasant family in the Piave valley. She couldn't understand why there was so little done for the poor people in this country, and was always telling us of what Mussolini was doing for the poor people. So there you are, the two points of view.

I wish the good and comfortable people in this country, who have simplified the present struggle into an issue between Good and Evil had a bit more experience of life from the point of view of the working man. I have seen too much of the miserable struggle for bread and butter, miscalculated civilization, to be deceived. A social system that could not build a new order in 20 years, with all the resources of the world at its disposal, does not deserve to live. I was very interested in your statement that there is a feeling that only humiliation and suffering will produce the change of heart.

THOMAS MILLAR

43 Bracondale, Norwich.

ECONOMIC DEADLOCK

"PRODUCTION"—A Plan for War Industry, by "Hephaestus Smith." New Statesman Pamphlet. 6d.

PACIFISTS and others may dispute the use to which the economic resources of the country should be put; but everyone wants to make full and efficient use of those resources.

Yet, after two and a half years of total war, there is still something sadly wrong with the organization on the economic front. What's to be done about it?

The "well-known industrial expert" writing under a nom de plume who attempts to answer the question in this pamphlet has produced an admirable and lucid statement of the cause and the cure.

AT LOGGERHEADS

As tactfully as it can be done "Mr. Smith" tells us that big business—and what big business does small business must imitate—big business and maximum production are at loggerheads; and that Excess Profits Tax at nominally 100% and other compromise measures are quite inadequate to break the deadlock.

But compromise measures are only possible measures for the present coalition Government. "No Government which rests its support on a combination of parties which hold sharply contrasted economic views can achieve change."

Therefore? Therefore let there be a change of heart. Let men rise above the blinding narrowness of party loyalty and there will be made possible such specific commonsense reforms as the author proposes.

WILL IT HAPPEN?

This is what should happen. But I have the impression that Mr. Smith does not suppose for a moment that it will happen. And if it doesn't?

Presumably the alternatives are the seizure of power by one party to run the country on totalitarian lines for the duration; or a continuation of muddle until the fate which awaits the obsolete finally overtakes the whole crazy structure.

But here, at any rate, is a remedy. Westminster must decide whether or not to take it. Meanwhile someone should see that Mr. Smith goes to Washington.

ROY WALKER

DEVON & CORNWALL AREA

Annual General Meeting

Trades and Labour Club, Exeter

Sunday, April 12, at 3.0 p.m.

All members of P.P.U. within the Area are urged to attend.

£1 for a Loaf of Bread

A LONG with news of some food relief, which will shortly reach Greece, last week brought a Times report of Greek refugees arriving at Cyprus "often more dead than alive."

Describing "the arrival at a Cyprus port of several hundreds of Greek refugees, for the most part crammed like sardines in caiques and other sailing vessels of the Eastern Mediterranean," The Times correspondent at Nicosia said "they rush at food like animals and are half-naked. A loaf of bread costs over £1 in Athens today and deaths from starvation average 2,000 a day in that city. In the Piraeus area the bodies are collected in trucks and flung into huge trenches."

MORE FOOD ARRIVING

Meanwhile 8,400 tons of wheat for Greece have arrived in Lisbon from the United States by the Greek steamer Master Elias Kulukundis (Lloyds List, Mar. 28). According to a Reuter message, this is confined to the International Red Cross, and will be transhipped to the Swedish motor ship Hallaren.

Reports in the Catholic press quote messages from Vatican City to the effect that food supplies sent to Greece by the Pope have arrived, "been distributed, and received with the utmost gratitude." The extent of this relief is not revealed.

The Turkish steamer Dumlupinar is reported by the Daily Telegraph, Mar. 27, as sailing for Athens with 1,991 tons of "foodstuffs and comforts for the starving Greeks. This is the eighth food ship sent by the Turkish Red Crescent to Greece," and, according to The Times, Mar. 28, is sent "by Turkish journalists to their Greek colleagues."

LABOUR'S FAILURE

(Continued from page 2)

tion after the war. The only reference to exports in the report informs us that nationalized industry and a vigorous building programme "will enable the reorganization of our export trade to proceed in an orderly and balanced way."

The complacency of that sentence leaves one gasping.

Incredible as it may seem, the report contains no discussion of the effect upon our export position of such matters as the big extension of machine production, for both war and peace, now taking place in the Dominions, in India, and in the South American Republics; the new commercial relations which Canada is developing with the USA and with the South American Republics; the big expansion of textiles production in India; the new unitary trading system in Europe, in the Far East (under Japanese influence), and in the Americas; the unprecedented increase in the world's power of industrial production owing to the demands of mechanized warfare; and the huge drop in British overseas investments.

These changes foreshadow economic warfare within the Empire itself, a most serious food situation in Britain and the necessity of securing a better balance between industrial and agricultural production. In addition they call for a much more closely integrated international economic policy than anything visualized by the Labour report.

★

THE one issue on which there is complete unity between Labour and the Government is that of disarming Germany should she be defeated. Success here is far from being assured, since a defeat of Hitler is almost certain to be followed by the collapse of the Nazi regime and social revolution, which may spread to many countries. That possibility, however, is not even suggested.

Despite all that has happened during the last twenty-four years, the Labour Party does not realize that if it got its way with Germany it would not thereby obtain security.

Security in 1943 will depend upon resolving the economic problem, as it has done ever since 1918, and this report shows that Labour is still unable to solve that problem.

It was largely because Labour closed its eyes to the causative aggression of the big Empires from 1919 to 1933, and called for sanctions against the victims of that aggression instead of for a British lead toward a sound international economic policy, that the present situation has arisen. And it would now repeat that folly.

The disarmament of Germany is the one specific item in its programme which is likely to be carried into effect should Britain have any say in the Peace. But the vital economic issues, the matters which touch the vested interests—are all up in the air!

It looks as if the Labour Party has completely lost its vision, in which case this report may well be its epitaph.



QUAKERS' PLEA

The Society of Friends, in a statement to the Prime Minister and Minister of Economic Warfare, appeals for the lifting of the blockade on enemy countries "for at least such food and clothing as are essential for the maintenance and growth of child life even if this involves a lessening of our own supplies."

Food blockade, the statement says, "promotes a hardening of heart which is destructive of Christian values, including mercy and compassion, for which this country claims to be fighting."

"If this policy is continued the result to the world will be incalculable spiritual and moral loss."

Rights Of Man

THE following is the finally revised form of Article 6 in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which has been adopted by the PPU as part of its programme.

A man may engage freely in any lawful occupation, earning such pay as the contribution that his work makes to the welfare of the community may justify or that the desire of any private individual or individuals for his products, his performances or the continuation of his activities may produce for him. He is entitled to paid employment by the community and to make suggestions as to the kind of employment which he considers himself able to perform. He is entitled to profit fully by the desirableness of his products and activities. And he is entitled to payment for calling attention to a product or conveying it to consumers to whom it would otherwise be unattainable. By doing so, he does a service for which he may legitimately profit. He is a useful agent. But buying and holding and selling again simply in order to make a profit is not lawful. It is speculation, it does no service; it makes profit out of want and it can be profitable only by creating or sustaining want. It tempts men directly to the interception of legitimate profits, to forestalling, appropriation, hoarding and a complex of anti-social activities, and it is equally unlawful for private individuals and public administrative bodies.

Japan's Struggle

An informative book about modern Japan is "Japan's Kampf," by Jaya Deva (Gollanz, 6s.). It tells the story of the gradual abandonment of liberal parliamentary government by Japan and clearly recounts the various stages by which she has arrived at an indigenous totalitarianism apparently much more in accord with her traditional morality.

The writer is apparently a Communist; but he does not indicate that Communism has had any chance of success in a people given over to Bushido and the "patriotic societies." The final impression given is that Japan is a country quite inexplicable in Marxist terms. All the author's careful and valuable statistics do not succeed in plucking the heart out of the mystery. But the most sober-minded man, after reading it, might be induced to dream of the "yellow peril."

ADVISORY BUREAUX

Northwich.—Miss Muriel Poulter, 150 Chester Rd., Northwich.

Nottingham.—Geoffrey E. Macpherson, 41 Pilcher Gate, Nottingham (Mark "Private"). Also Regional Sec.

Poplar.—C. B. Pelham, Relief Service Unit, Plimsoll St., E.14.

Portmadoc.—D. Gwyndaf Williams, Penmount Farm, Portmadoc.

Spalding.—Horace C. Woodard, 88/90 Wins-over Rd., Spalding.

Streatham (covering S.W.2 and S.W.16).—Roy Kilby, 27 Angles Rd., S.W.16.

Bishop's Prayer

Give Thy blessing, O Father, to the people of that great and fair land, with whose rulers we are at war. Strengthen the hands of the wise and just, who follow charity and look for justice and freedom, among them as among us. Drive away the evil passions of hatred, suspicion, and the fever of war, among them as among us. Relieve and comfort the anxious, the bereaved, the sick, and the tormented, and all the pale host of sufferers, among them as among us. Reward the patience, industry, loving-kindness, and simplicity of the common people and all the men of good heart, among them as among us.

Forgive the cruelty, the ambition, the foolish pride, the heartless schemes of which the world's rulers have been guilty. Teach us everywhere to repent and to amend. Help us so to use our present afflictions, which come from us and not from thee, that we may build on the ruins of our evil past a firm and lasting peace.

Grant that, united in a good understanding with these who are now become our enemies, though they are our brethren in Christ, they and we may establish a new order; wherein the nations may live together in trust and fellowship, in the emulation of great achievements and the rivalry of good deeds, truthful honest, and just in our dealings one with another, and following in all things the standard of the Son of Man, whom we have denied, and put to shame, and crucified afresh upon the Calvary of our battle-ground. Amen.

—Bishop Gore in the first world war.

NEWS of C.O.s

THE first case of a conscientious objector being unconditionally registered under the new Act after being in prison for refusing medical examination comes from Manchester, where, on Mar. 30, Charles F. Carter successfully appealed to the Northern Appellate Tribunal after serving 4 months.

On Mar. 28 seven COs charged at West Ham Police Court with failing to be medically examined were each given 14 days imprisonment. Three days earlier, at Stratford Police Court (a few minutes walk from the other), four COs had been sentenced to 12 months imprisonment on a similar charge.

POSITION OF WOMEN

A serious anomaly as to women COs is pointed out in the April issue of the CBCO Bulletin.

In the House of Commons, Mar. 26, T. Edmund Harvey asked the Minister of Labour whether his attention had been called to the position of a number of unmarried women between 22 and 30 who were not afforded facilities to register as COs in the same way as women in the 20 and 21 age groups; that some of the former had been prosecuted for failing to comply with directions, which would not have occurred had they been provisionally registered as COs; and whether steps would be taken to remedy the position and remove future misunderstanding.

In reply Mr. Bevin stated that unmarried women between 22 and 30 years of age were entitled to apply to be provisionally registered as COs in respect of service with the Forces.

Whilst Mr. Bevin added that such registration had no bearing on their obligation to comply with directions to civil work, the Central Board is pressing for the whole

position to be put right. It is understood that the matter is being carefully considered by the Minister with a view to setting on a more satisfactory level the relation between conscientious objection to serving in the Forces and the absolutist objection to compulsory civil work.

On April 1, four more women Jehovah's Witnesses, summoned for refusing directions to civil work, were sent to prison for 28 days at Coventry, and three were sent to prison for 31 days at Birmingham.

C.B.C.O. BULLETIN

The latest number of the CBCO Bulletin (Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 3d.) should be carefully read especially by women COs, as their position—a somewhat complicated one—is dealt with at some length and in considerable detail. The issue also contains special articles on Jehovah's Witnesses, the decisions of tribunals, the non-combatant corps, and the question of "reasonable excuse" for not fulfilling conditions of exemption.

(6d; 7d post free)
TROUBLESOME PEOPLE
The enthralling story of the C.O.s of the last war
(6d a dozen; 3/7 a hundred, both post free)
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"No Victimization," say national leaders
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Verbatim accounts of three cases of interest
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FOR ALL properties to be let or sold in N.W. London and Districts, apply to McCraith and Brooks, Auctioneers and Surveyors, 44 Market Place, N.W.11. (Speedwell 9888, 3 lines), who will give special attention to the requirements of pacifists.

FURNISHED rooms, use kitchen; vegetarian; guests also taken; sunny cottage. 6 Enstone Rd., Charlbury, Oxford.

2 PROFESSIONALS, pacifists, vegetarians, have bedsitter to let to kindred spirit. Weybridge, Surrey. Box 203 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

EDUCATIONAL

KIDSTONES School, Bishopdale, Leyburn, Yorks. Vacancies for boys and girls over 9 years old. In perfect surroundings the school life is enjoyed by happy and energetic children. Holiday children welcome, 2½ gns. per week.

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FOR SALE & WANTED

CHILDREN'S hostel staffed by C.O.s requires gift of radio set. Mains preferred. Box 204 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LITERATURE, &c.

DOES SOCIALISM need compulsion? Read Douglas Owen's new pamphlet: *Compulsion and the Right of Private Judgment*. 3d. per copy from D. Owen, 6 Mount St., Manchester, 2.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practices of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

READ The Graal League: a Foundation by Alfred Hy. Haffenden. A program of individual life and group action. The C. W. Daniel Co., Ltd., Ashington, Rothford, Essex. 1s. 2d. post paid.

PERSONAL

3 PACIFISTS require immediate loan—£1,000 or thereabouts—to purchase existing stock on farm they wish to take over. Repayment by arrangement. Box 206 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS VACANT

GARDENER (food production) wanted. Intelligent, balanced, healthy, strong, willing to share all community jobs. Expert training available for promising learner. Headmaster, Long Dene School, Manor House, Stoke Park, Slough, Bucks.

GARDENER wanted to manage small nursery, outdoors, duration or permanency, Somerset. Box 196 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

MARKET GARDENER. Vacancies for two single C.O.s who are prepared to work well; previous experience would be helpful; good home and pleasant surroundings; pocket money to commence, with gradual improvement; live with family. Write Box 193 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

OFFICE JUNIOR, aged 15-17, boy or girl, for C.B.C.O. staff. Must be willing. Apply 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

WANTED for school for backward boys, Gardening Instructor. Married couple considered if wife prepared to work as lady help. Write giving full details to the Secretary, Petton Hall, Burlington, Salop.

WANTED, helper for elderly lady, light nursing and some household duties; country near Birmingham; pleasant family life. Box 202 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED in progressive school Nurse-matron for small group of boarders. Sherwood School, Epsom. Tel. Epsom 8125.

WARDEN AND WIFE urgently required for forestry unit. Details, Secretary, Kingswood Cottage, Kingswood, Frodsham, Cheshire.

SITUATIONS & WORK WANTED

CAPABLE GARDENER with long experience seeks post, with cottage or accommodation for wife and two children. Best references. Highly recommended by War Resisters' International, to whom write, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield, Middlesex.

CHRISTIAN C.O. requires clerical work, connected with agriculture; 3 years previous experience. Box 201 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

C.O. (21), requires farm work, Warwickshire. Some experience. Write Box 205 PN, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST COUPLE require farm work. Gardening and cooking experience. Ancott, Upwood Children's Home, Barnet Green.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House; for happy holiday or restful recuperation; all modern comforts—A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate; Tel. Ambergate 44).

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